123 /9 cont./ to look and listen. Everything that the investigator is able to carry out on top of just listening and looking without causing any damage during this time is pure gain.

Introduction

The investigator is a foreign element in the community to which he comes to work. The relationship to the individuals in his environment must constantly be adjusted. There are some manners which they accept from him. There are also manners which they find so troublesome, especially after a while, that his contact and thus his work suffers from it. Frequently the first month is decisive in this. Hence a person who feels free to show his disapproval of the stranger's behavior in a way that is comprehensible to the stranger is the best mentor.

As a Dutch official I was regarded as a high guest in Macassar [554 576] country. It is discourteous to display one's disapproval of his conduct to a higher person; this violates the profoundest feelings. My gratitude toward my mentor is therefore so great precisely because his personality was dynamic enough to allow him to be a bad Makassare in the sense that, contrary to his feelings, he nevertheless pointed out my mistakes.

Initially I laughed too loud and talked too loud, for loud [517 555] talking and laughing really occur only when several men are together. Then one of them likes to tell tall or absurd stories because the person who can do this well raises his standing. I 123 learned that as a male guest I belonged in the parlor and that I 574 could not walk through the back; that I could ask men or boys, and possibly also older women, something, but that young girls [562 576] and newly married women landed in difficulties if I so much as greeted them, because this is enough to point to a "contact" with the stranger, which is forbidden. I noticed that somebody constantly kept me company and found this troublesome. Only later did it become apparent that this belongs to the ordinary courtesies observed toward a guest. /10/ A Makassarese does not like to be alone and therefore believes that his guest would also find this unpleasant.

621 [161] [368] /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools which the entire adat community of more than 14,000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

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A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/ noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilometers further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

[554] [565] [621]

The Bilateral Related Group

612 621 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

> 1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.
This man lived along the large road.

4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.
Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

554 576 689

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;
And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.

6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:
Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:

7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';
If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

241 /49 cont./ incense vessel, and then lays them down on the
796 stone next to each other. The Pinati moves the incense vessel again, now three times one way and once the other, in a circle above the two parappo, and then puts it down by his side. In so doing, this part of the ritual is completed. For a moment the Pinati remains quietly seated. From the time he dropped some incense into the vessel to this moment, seven minutes have elapsed.

Now he sits down in the saukang, facing north. A small number of bowls with offerings are placed around the lopped-off center post. A few older women occupy the rest of the space in the saukang.

The Pinati provides the incense vessel with fresh fuel, holding the oil bottle over it briefly and dripping it in a small circle on the top part of the post. Within this circle he places three handfuls of puffed rice, each time holding the hand first in the smoke for a brief instant. Subsequently, he moves the incense vessel in a circle three times one way and once the other way over the lopped-off post and throws a few handfuls of puffed rice -- always after having first held them in the smoke above the incense vessel -- over the bowls with food. After that he opens a third parappo, holds this, too, in the smoke for an instant, and then lays it down beside the post. Then he moves the incense vessel again, three times one way and once the other way over this parappo, laying some fingers of his right hand against the top of the lopped-off center post, and mumbling briefly. Again he scatters /50/ a few handfuls of puffed rice over the food bowls and throws a few kernels over his shoulder. With this the actual ritual is concluded. This part of the ritual, which took place in the saukang, was also completed within seven minutes.

241 The bowls with offerings were then taken away and
796 placed before the men, who had arranged themselves in rows
264 on mats, according to their standing. The women kept a

● 554

241 /50 cont./ number of bowls for themselves. They ate in small
796 groups seated around the bowls without any special order
264 according to standing being observed in so doing.
●554 Some pinati at the ritual take a few fingers of rice plus the extreme end of a chicken leg (only the bone) from each bowl and place this by the parappo. In this manner something
[769] has been put aside for the ancestors from each house.

[541] Men now let their cocks fight again as they did in the morning. Meanwhile the Pinati goes around and touches
241 everybody who wants it with a mixture of oil, earth, and finely
796 rubbed rice, as well as something else which is his special secret. The parts of the body suited for this are the forehead, the neck, and the navel. The purpose is to cause these persons
[769] to share in the prosperity (pitjuru') of this ancestor through the earth with which he came in contact (nibarakkakki) (1).

1. It is good practice to take for this purpose earth from as close to the stone as possible and as soon after the conclusion of the ritual as possible (see photograph). 1

After the meal many stay to watch the cocks for a while. Only gradually do they return home. Only a few pisang and betel leaves, some pieces of areca and rice kernels remain by the stone under the tree and in the saukang next to the looped-off center post. The wind easily drives the dried-up leaves asunder; ants and birds make off with the rest. The oil spots alone remain visible as a sign that the ancestors were honored.

Horizontal Mobility

166 Three aspects of horizontal mobility will be described here. First of all, the relationship of place of residence to place of birth; secondly, the migrations which take place during a unit of time in one certain kampong territory; and
1 [see End Plate 7.-Analyst]

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 778 184 796 A number of further differences should be pointed out which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

778 /65 cont./ told that members of the Muhammadijah
769 Association agitated against these pantasa', so that many people made no replacement when the old one was broken.

In 1949, 17 of the 133 houses in Bontoramba had a pantasa'. One stood in 10 of the 81 houses of the Kapala group, in 2 of the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and in 5 of the 33 houses of the /66/ Rest group. Several of these were obviously new, that is to say, they had been made one or only a few years ago. In 5 houses, a large standing basket (salosso) with ritual objects was found.

In addition to pantasa' one can also see so-called "andja'" in attics of houses. An andja' is a place on which one puts an offering. It is a hanging bamboo basin tray without turned-up rims. In the same enumeration, it appeared that there were 38 andja' in the 133 houses of Bontoramba, distributed over the three groups as follows: 30 in the 81 houses of the Kapala group, none in the 19 houses of the Mangenre group, and 8 in the 33 houses of the Rest group.

778 One who wishes to bring an offering generally prepares
769 more than one parappo; 3 or 4 is customary. A woman
602 declared that at times she prepared as many as 12. The other parappo are then taken to the pantasa' or the andja' of the kinsmen who are believed to deserve them. Thus only a few of the kinsmen who have a pantasa' in their house receive a parappo. According to reports, this is determined by what the ancestors have prescribed. A Makassarese does not like to state the reason why he gives a parappo to some kinsmen and
554 not to others. It is possible to observe, however, that parappo
778 are by preference brought to the houses of those who are
769 appreciated for their personal qualities. And usually these
602 appear to be personalities generally appreciated in the group of relatives. They are the ones who know how to collect the most goods, whose advice is gladly asked, whose pitjuru (1)

1. See p. 242.

1:Chabot--88 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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/66 cont./ is gladly received, as well as the ones with whom people prefer to enter into marriage connections.

Thus a few individuals are to be found in each group of relatives on whom the interest of the other relatives is concentrated. These leading personalities strive, on the one hand, to establish marital ties among each other, on the other, they try to gain the upper hand over each other. The bilateral related group, therefore, has difficulty in showing unity. The ancestor ritual in the forms described above merely keeps the conflicts between the various parties within the related group going. /67/

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The Ornament-Worship Community

Kooreman (1) observed that groups of Makassarese living

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1. P.J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 143 ff.

together in a certain territory worshipped a certain object which he called "the ornament." In the literature that came after him, these are sometimes called "ornament communities." They are regarded as territorial units. Nooteboom later summarized Kooreman's definitions. He spoke of "objects, externally of a very arbitrary character, worshipped by a certain community of individuals and regarded as sacred" (2).

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2. Chr. Nooteboom, "Naar aanleiding van de Rijkssieraden in Zuid-Celebes /With Reference to Regalia in South Celebes/," K.T., 1937, p. 168.

794 796 602 /68/ Those who worship the ornament together form the "worship community." The ornament of Borongloë is worshipped in the first place by the head of the adat community and his relatives. Sometimes relatives living outside the adat community also take part in it. In the second place, followers and slaves of the head and his relatives also take part in the ritual. In the third place, there are the other subjects living in the adat community territory, and in the fourth place, there are those who live outside Borongloë who are not related to the head but who wish to participate for other reasons.

In practice the first two categories, quantitatively speaking, always form the largest contingent at the festivals. The third category at the same time should be the most numerous, but here one is satisfied with representation. The kampong head represents his kampong. Hence, all kampong heads are present at all important Borongloë festivals. Occasionally they may send a statement that they were prevented from attending or else an observer.

[622]

The ornament of Goa is worshipped in an analogous manner first of all by the kinsmen of the Prince, regardless of whether they live in Goa or not; secondly, by the followers and slaves of the Prince and of his kinsmen; thirdly, by all (other) subjects of the Prince residing within Goa. This group is referred to when it is said that "the entire people of Goa" was present at a festival that was regarded as concerning the whole of Goa. At such festivals, the heads of the adat communities attend to represent their regions. Finally, the ornament is worshipped on such occasions by those who, although not related to the Prince and living outside Goa, nevertheless wish to take part in the festival.

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The size of the worship group is therefore larger in a stronger group of relatives. The ornaments of the most powerful provinces, such as Bone, Luwu, and Goa, are worshipped all over South Celebes.

648 /68 cont./ The provinces of South Celebes have made
794 up a federation since 1948. The administration of this
554 federation has been placed in the hands of an administrative
council (Hadat Tinggi), and the princes of Bone and Goa
respectively have become president and vice-president of this
body. As a result, it is to be expected that the worship of the
ornaments of these two realms will increase accordingly
throughout the daërah.

778 /69/ In the Borongloë adat community two other
612 ornaments are known in addition to the headman's ornament.
634 For an adat community head, an ornament inside his region
constitutes a potential threat. Only a related group which
has an ornament has in effect the ability to act outwardly as
a unit. And an ornament generally speaking is in the possession
of a related group which in former times had a stronger
position of power than it does at present. Stories concerning
the old time of glory continue to live on, and each new
generation awaits its chance to regain the old position of power.

[621] The two ornaments referred to are found in the kampongs
of Borongrappo and Bontoa.

The relatives of a former adat community head of
Borongloë, deposed in 1916, have their residence in Borongrappo.
They kept their ornament. The successor, the father of the
present-day head, was related to the Borongrappo group.
At the same time he belonged to a group which possessed its
own ornament. The latter became the ornament of the whole
of Borongloë when the successor was raised to the headship.
In 1939, on this occasion, a so-called purification ritual took
place, and at that point the ornament of Borongrappo was
brought to that of Borongloë. In the ritual, the virtual
subordination of the former to the latter was made known by
this procedure.

During the turbulent period from 1946 to 1947, the group
of relatives at Bontoa ranged itself behind the adat community
[726] head. As a sign of favorable inclination as well as of

538 /69 cont./ that he improvises and illuminates the present-day state of affairs by the aid of a few data, just as seems to him best for his group at that moment. At the same time, he seems to be completely convinced of the 'objective' correctness of his representation of the historic facts.

612 744 /70/ The members of these two worship communities are the members of the local group of relatives, a few kinsmen residing outside the kampong boundaries, an occasional follower, and a very occasional slave, as well as possibly also a stranger who for some reason or other joins in the worship.

778 744 Ornaments are therefore found in the kingdom, the adat community, and in the kampong. Nowhere is the worship community of an ornament sharply delimited. The larger ● 554 the actual power of a group of relatives, the larger does the worship community of this group's ornament seem to be.

612 778 The relationship between the ornaments is a reflection of the actual power relation of the groups of relatives. Two occasions at which this could be observed will be reported.

796 778 612 1. At the ritual "purification of the land" (akawarru butta), which took place for the last time in Borongloë a number of years before the Second World War, the head with his kinsmen and followers carried the ornament of Borongloë through the various kampongs of the adat community. In each kampong they spent the night, a buffalo was killed, a celebration was held, and offerings were made at the ornament. In the kampongs where the people possessed an ornament, the

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/79 cont./ Members of the lower groups of relatives, who, viewed from the standpoint of the nobility, form a single whole, are themselves not conscious of their unity. Each Makassarese regards his own group of relatives as higher than those around it. He always wants to /80/ raise himself above a group around him that is regarded as equally high. In all groups of relatives there is a constant striving to rise higher, without this being fixed in a social hierarchy. The groups are therefore always in a relationship of opposition toward each other. Each group, on the one hand, tries to prevail over the other and, on the other hand, tries to avoid being dominated by the other.

Neither do these groups form a "social class" /cited in English/ in the sense that Ogburn and Nimkoff attach to that expression. Of the "common people" it is not always possible to say that they "meet on equal terms" /cited in English/ or that they have "essentially the same social status" /cited in English/ (1). One can therefore never say in advance whether

1. W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, A Handbook of Sociology, London, 1947, pp. 210 ff.

two individuals may marry each other, because that would imply a certain equality. At the least it means that the man is not lower than his future wife. The uncertainty concerning the "/social/ class" of each individual is clear.

If, as a stranger, one asks someone from these groups to what class he belongs, he becomes embarrassed. He does not think of the possibility that the interrogator intends to distinguish him from the nobility, and as far as his environment is concerned, he is unable to indicate any class because there exists no social hierarchy with established class characteristics. He can merely indicate his /social/ class approximately by pointing

565 /80 cont./ to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
565 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the
000 Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J.P.B. Josselin de Jong, "The Natchez Social System" /cited in English/, Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen- en standenstructuur als sociologische begrippen /Class and Status Structure as Sociological Concepts/, Inaugural Address, Leiden, 1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

/82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from an exogamous kinship grouping.

The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articulation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came into existence, is not clear.

The connection established by Friedericy between class and kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit., p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing" /aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be feasible.

It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment. Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two elements which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's children because this establishes the standing gained by one personally, within the bounds set by descent.

584 /85 cont./ 1. At one count, he arrived
565 at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person
● [554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general
602 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
582 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /86 cont./ he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen) present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits the clearest measurable evaluation.

583 The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the contracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an

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> 1. A real was, and still is, valued at 2 guldens. The coin itself, the real, is not seen at these payments. It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/ circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guldens), but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction, a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat, round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood, whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding." That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time, for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

[659] The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case, the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 583 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 565 583 [643] In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

554 565 583

/88 cont./ It is interesting to see how this regulation was applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947 to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.
583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
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1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /91 cont./ The same can be said of the imam's office. The
583 Imam of Boronglo̤, who furnished information concerning the amount of the sunrang, explained several times that in a certain case a higher sunrang had been paid than was prescribed because the woman in question was related to him. This illustrates the
[602] advantage of kinship, for the woman was honored by the Imam with a higher sunrang than would otherwise have been possible. He would not have been able to refuse the request to record a higher sunrang without being accused of snobbery, for this would have shown that he no longer wanted to recognize his kinsmen as equals and thus no longer as kinsmen. /92/

563 4. The sunrang appears to be locally bound. Buginese
583 who have a regulation in their own country by which a much
631 higher sunrang is paid have to submit to the local regulations. It is a public secret that actually they frequently pay their own sunrang of 44 reals but that in the registers an amount of 24 (22 or 20) reals is recorded. The marriage official knows about this and silently acquiesces. Officially there is no violation of the principle that the head of a certain territory is entitled to the highest sunrang.

554 5. It is necessary to be acquainted with the period when
583 the regulation was issued (1940) in order to understand how it
659 is possible that in spite of the existing regulation a higher sunrang was paid for a sister of the adat community head than by the head himself. For the sister, who married in 1939 (before the new regulation came out), a sunrang of 28 reals was received, but when this head himself married fully a year later (after the new regulation), he was not allowed to pay more than 26 reals. There was no getting around the recent prescription issued by the Prince. Considering this situation, the somewhat annoyed remark of this head that in future he would take good care that no one received more than 26 reals was quite understandable.

554 6. The sunrang is not always equal even for people who
583 are kinsmen. A little leeway is possible, and it is just this
602

554 583 602 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kinsmen differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status, or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided. 554 581 584 578 602 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Considering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

554 578 602 Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 583 557 602 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang, information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences

582
583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

582 In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and
602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554 /95 cont./ were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult, I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a tax official and very influential at the same time, who married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585] large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli tjera').

554 In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
581 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
582 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs children in the reading of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one, of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont./ resident would have no chance of contracting.
581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.
His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
[626] she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analagous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said, that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely. She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter, because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later have a chance of a better marriage, something which again works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 565 /97 cont./ than those of their mother. The daughters are preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears [156] that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York and London, 1927, p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

554 565 576 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides in the house of her father's master may learn to make little cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

582 557 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
[585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
572] higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
[626] her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

571/102 cont./ 1. Ana' ana'na literally signifys "his children," here, therefore, "as if his children."

awareness that a relationship of authority of high over low, accepted by the latter, exists and likewise the realization that high and low need each other in their striving for higher standing. This relationship is based upon cooperation. The relationship between (almost) equal groups, on the other hand, is best described as opposition. The next paragraph will deal with this point.

156 In addition to descent, the personal qualities of the individual are of importance in his striving to rise. The importance of these qualities is reflected in the saying that a good karaëng has good followers and a bad karaëng bad ones. Qualities required for a higher person to be a good one are: courage in fighting and skill in debate. He must have the courage to undertake risks; he must be active and at the same time able to stimulate activity in others. In addition, a certain generosity toward those lower is indispensable. Such a dynamic character attracts those who are lower; They like to work for such a person. Qualities appreciated in a lower person worthy of mention are: faithfulness to the master; courage, in the sense of readiness to assist his master and to avenge insults inflicted upon the master; and furthermore, a certain initiative within the bounds of freedom permitted him.

554 571

114 Four essays written by the government official, Kooreman, which dealt with his experiences during a stay of almost ten years in South Celebes appeared in the Indische Gids of 1883. He also described the system of followers (1). Kooreman was

1. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," Indische Gids, 1883, pp. 375 ff.

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 565 571 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little man almost completely lacked protection against the presumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 675 "The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

571 675 /103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen,' and he would leave no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dismissed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/ obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the material interests of their followers. They helped them with paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths. Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of their ana ana.

554 565 571 "The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same time the most prominent and the most influential.

571 [602] "Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people who from generation to generation had been the followers of one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /107 cont./ them. If, for instance, a young unmarried
602 man goes to work for a prominent uncle (3), this is always a

●[554 466]

3. Here used in the sense of purina, thus someone belonging to a higher generation.

temporary arrangement. For a person who helps his uncle thereby increases the difference in standing existing between that uncle and his own family. Consequently, a young man will prefer, in the long run, to work for his parents, younger brothers, and unmarried sisters rather than to help his uncle gain more social standing.

People who work for a blood relative can be called
554 followers, but this occurs only if they /108/ serve as followers
571 of one head together with non-kinsmen. In that case they
602 occupy the highest position among them. Because of their less pronounced personal qualities they are bound to obey, that is, to follow their kinsman, but with respect to the other followers they are higher, and therefore the leaders, by reason of their descent.

The dwelling of the adat community head is the center
634 of Borongloë. The adat community office is, as it were, merely one of its extensions. Matters of taxation, transferences of land and cattle, quarrels which end in fights, elopements, marriages, foreigners, and all that concerns the ornament worship are handled by the head. In the case of some problems the persons involved were referred to the office and to office hours, but the head receives most of them at his home where their problem is discussed and settled right away, if possible.
571 An active head in this way attracts much information. A
634 number of followers will regularly be found around him.

These work for him in the sawahs and in the gardens, and in addition they run errands for him. Some of them

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties created by preceding generations. That he was able to maintain himself as head during these times is merely due to the support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-government of Goa.

554 The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
571 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
602 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
634 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This is done to make the social standing of the group appear as great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers indicates that a group rises considerably above those around them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to this group of relatives.

554 According to reports, the number of followers of the
565 karaëng group is very large, especially the number of those
571 whose previous generation also worked for this group of relatives. The karaëng are each supposed to have had one or more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here working the sawah is entirely in the hands of followers because people do not like to see a karaëng working in the sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the

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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

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/110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 /112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called,
471 for purposes of differentiation,
571 "small representative"
(koasa tja'di).

441 One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
471 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
454 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

571 For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
565 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
554 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
[582] qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng. Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

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196 Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to
● [554 the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if
643] an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

567 Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears
[644] that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friederic reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friederic,
Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

554 /123 cont./ he hears everything that goes on. In his turn he
602 derives from his kapalaship the standing necessary to exert
622 influence within his group.

With the members of the other groups, his influence in
622 many cases extends only so far as is necessary to carry out the
[607] tasks enjoined on him by officials of the Inland Administration via the Self-government and adat community heads. This, therefore, frequently concerns administrative matters, but in view of the fact that administration and the exercise of actual power are not separated here, his influence is very great. For the residents of the kampong territory, the kapala is the man to whom they must pay their taxes. He is the one who regulates community labor, with whom the request for the clearing of a new plot of land must be registered in the first instance, from whom an aspirant kampong /124/ resident must request permission to settle, to whom guests staying overnight must be reported, and so on.

He must be known therefore in all such daily matters. He is the link between the residents of his kampong and the adat community head. Accordingly, it is important for all kampong residents to be on friendly terms with him. His influence soon ceases with non-kinsmen. He does not enter into affairs which are important to them as kinsmen. If he makes an attempt to extend his influence further, opposition arises. The opposition between the various group of relatives in one and the same kampong territory finds expression, among other things, in the exercise of the function of gurukampong.

793 The gurukampong is the lowest religious official in the hierarchy in which the kali stands at the top for the entire realm and in which the imam is subordinated to the kali for affairs inside the adat community. In his turn, the gurukampong is again subordinated to the imam for matters concerning the residents of his kampong. His task is to make the imam acquainted with births and deaths, marriages, and cases of people who want to get a divorce. He lends a hand at a birth,

177 /125 cont./ Makassarese forces, but had to be approved by
634 the officials of the Inland Administration. This administration
648 in practice only rarely permitted boundary alterations. It preferred to hold fast to the boundaries fixed in the years after 1905.

622 The kapala can also seek to establish contact with the kin
662 group of the /126/ adat community head. A marriage between members of the two groups of relatives seems to be possible (1).

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1. In this connection one can remark that it is always a man from the adat community head's group who marries a girl of the kapala group. Some difference in standing is always considered to exist between adat community head and kampong head, and therefore between their groups of relatives. Through the marriage, the implication is avoided that a man is marrying a woman from a group of relatives with higher standing than his own. A cousin (samposikali) of the adat community head was thus joined in marriage with a daughter of the kapala of Bontoramba.

622 In the succession to the kapalaship, a clear preference for the son, at least for a close

/132 cont./
Acculturation Phenomena

177 Cultural elements derived from western Europe and based upon the principle of equality cause difficulties when they are introduced into South Celebes. Only a few of these elements will be mentioned briefly to illustrate their conflict with the class structure. The most important of these are the public auction, soccer games /voetbalspel/, and the parliamentary form of government. Here we shall only indicate one aspect of this matter.

177 /133/ For colleagues to consult each other on a basis of equality, independent of status, cannot be reconciled with the 554 idea that it is impolite to tell a higher person that one does 576 not agree with him. A school inspector is higher than a teacher and so he knows better, such is the train of thought. At a conference convened around 1940 on behalf of the Department of Education, a Makassarese school inspector introduced a topic. The answer to the question whether there was agreement with what had been said consisted merely of a general "jo karaëng" (yes, sir). None of the teachers present dared to voice a different opinion for fear of being regarded as impolite.

The presence of two persons, one higher and one lower, who had been invited for the same meal by a Dutchman, produced various difficulties. The lower person waited until he was addressed before saying anything, and then he merely expressed agreement with what had been said. At most he would repeat the same thing in other words with a tone of assent. He would not take a single dish on his own initiative, but would wait until his host or the higher person pushed one in his direction, and even then he would eat only a few mouthfuls. As a result he had eaten practically nothing, when he rose from the table.

177 /133 cont./ Even modern Makassarese find these forms
554 of conduct stiff. They make fun of them but are incapable
576 of changing them, and rather than be impolite they leave the table hungry.

177 A public auction in the Makassarese environment is
554 merely a caricature of what the Western jurists who initiated
576 it had in mind. If a higher person bids, lower person does
437 not dare to outbid him. Accordingly, he asks a man of higher status, an equal of the first bidder, who is favorably inclined toward him, to make a bid for him.

177 The head of the community concerned does not like to
554 participate in the bidding personally. He runs the chance of
576 being unexpectedly outbid by an ignorant stranger in
622 Makassarese country. This signifies a challenge to him, and
437 he must continue to bid much more than the object is worth to him in order not to suffer a defeat in the eyes of his subjects. And if the competitive bidding is done by a Dutch lady, as might occur in a small administrative settlement, then he is left merely with a laugh about such a "challenge."

177 A soccer game is based upon the equality of the players.
554 But if a karaëng takes part in the game, there can no longer
576 be any question of equality /134/ (1). When the karaëng
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1. The fact that, according to a newspaper report from the Netherlands, Prince Bernhard had gained third prize in a steeplechase was regarded as a gross discourtesy on the part of the two winners.

shouted "Run out" (bakkai) to his goalkeeper, the forward of the opposing team who was running toward him interpreted this as a command directed at him; he stopped, and the

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you
[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities
[777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that when they are grown up they will marry and have many children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran. Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the back of the house.

One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
593 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
867 enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that the children make no noise. When an important man is in the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of the adat community head, his little son may run around and perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

443 462 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 562 The activities of men and women therefore complement each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 554 576 571 521 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 562 571 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression. Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

527 /148 cont./ dressed in red jackets, nicely made-up, and
571 decked with jewelry, pounding with precise movements, eyes cast down. After some time they are replaced. Under the surveillance of a couple of older women, four others descend from the house and take over the pounders while the first team again goes up, always with an escort and with eyes cast down. From behind the barred windows of the front rooms -- on this occasion the entire house is the domain of the women -- they peep outside where in the half-light of the yard the men walk around, sit, talk, and smoke (1).

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1. Little drinking is done. If there is rice wine (ballo'ase) present, the number of bottles is limited. Only the higher guests receive a bottle and share some of this with the others. Serious drunkenness does not occur. Makassarese who drink ballo' proceed to tell taller and taller tales and become increasingly provocative in their remarks. At such times they avoid the company of a higher person.

527 It is reported that formerly a group of young men from
579 another kampong, attracted by the provocative sounds, would
177 once in awhile make an attack and try to run away with one
571 of the young girls. This would then give rise to a general brawl. The young men of the house group would then defend their young sisters and cousins against an attack from outside. Nowadays such a thing no longer occurs. The festival has become a comparatively dull display since fighting and

157 /152 cont./

562 Bunga bunga takkakkasakku — My implanted, straight flowers,

539 Tjampaga takkakkasakku — My blooming tjampaga flowers.

Natjiniku ianu — When N. N. sees me

Nadjandjangku mole mole. — He will not be able to turn his eyes away from me.

834 To be man-crazy (lale) is one of the worst qualities that
157 a girl can have; it is said of one who, by her behavior, seems to want to attract the attention of a man to herself.

157 The above-mentioned qualities that are most prized in
182 men are at the same time those which they need for success in striving to rise, as demonstrated in the opposition phenomenon.

554 Not all men, and even less all women, possess the qualities named to an equally great degree. This influences their position in the community. Those who possess these qualities only to a small degree are poorly equipped to achieve standing in this community.

Homosexuality

838 The Makassarese divide people, as they say, into men, women, and kawe kawe (1). In reproducing the data, it will

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1. Dutch influence is observable in the Indonesian term which is occasionally used by modern Makassarese: "seorang het, " /"an 'it' person. " -- Ed./.

838 /152 cont./ become apparent that it is not altogether correct to translate the term kawe kawe by homosexual. Lack of a better one led me to use this translation for the time being.

The distinction connotes that homosexuality is accepted as abnormal, but nonetheless as an existing phenomenon just like an albino or a deaf-mute. In 1949 there were no men living in the kampong Bontoramba who were regarded as kawe kawe. In all of Borongloë (around 14, 000 inhabitants), there may have been five. Compared with other adat communities, this number will probably /153/ seem small. The reason for [684 634] this is that the adat community head to whom, as a believing Moslem, these kawe kawe were already a thorn in the side anyway had threatened to cut off the hair of each one (some of them wore their hair down to their shoulders) because one of them had made a young girl pregnant. As a result many of the kawe kawe left Borongloë. Only a few stayed. I was repeatedly able to observe one of them. Here follows a brief description of his outward appearance and behavior. His name was Taking.

Taking was thirty-five years old and lived with a married brother. They were a poor household, but only when it was completely necessary did Taking work in the sawah. Usually and by preference he would spend his time in the back part of the house with the women. In his manner of sitting and speaking and in clothing he was scarcely distinguishedable from them. At the kin-group festivals in the house of the adat community head, he worked hard in the kitchen, helping with preparations. On such occasions he frequently did the unpleasant work of keeping the strongly smoking fire going, work which generally is performed by lower women. At the ritual at the climax of the festival, however, he was, along with a number of older women, relatives of the head, the one who participated in its arrangement. Both the kitchen work [554] and the conduct of the ritual were in the hands of women at

838 /153 cont./ this festival. Lower women performed the first
[554] task, higher ones the latter. Taking participated in both.

Outside the house he behaved like a man. He would go
[482] on his way without escort, but whenever he was carrying something at the same time, he would do so by preference on his head (like a woman) and not on a yoke over his shoulders (like a man). When called upon as a witness in a legal case, however, he appeared completely in man's clothing with a black cap (topi), and upon that occasion had some good-natured fun poked at him. In everyday life, his presence in the women's group was accepted as a matter of course. According to my information, this dated from his childhood years. I was able to observe a little boy called Jusu at the age of about seven years. This is the age at which a difference starts to arise between boys' and girls' games.

Jusu by preference played with the girls of his own age.
[857] The latter permitted this without poking fun at him. A high noblewoman took him into her house and into her following. /154/ He would go with a couple of her nieces his age to pay visits and attend festivals. The acceptance of a kawe kawe into the women's group from his childhood years on explains the naturalness with which he is treated.

Details concerning Taking's sexual life could not be obtained. It was believed that he desired no contact with women. Concerning his relationship with other men only jokes were made. His reaction at the mention of anal coitus was one of decided aversion, and at the mention of mutual masturbation his reaction was neutral.

In addition to the commonly occurring kawe kawe, I once observed a woman in the adat community of Takalar who did not feel at home with those of her own sex. She wore her hair like a woman, but her sarong like a man. She preferred to work in the sawah with the patjol /hoe/ (typically male work). She carried burdens on a yoke over her shoulders the way a man does, and she would go alone to pasars and

838 /155 cont./ and behave in everyday life completely like
793 normal men. At the performance of the ritual, however, their dress and behavior is half-male and half-female, like that of other bissu. The latter, the unmarried ones, live together in the ornament house.

In 1948 the then assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes supplied me information which might clarify why kawe kawe prefer to occupy themselves with the ornament ritual. According to the description of the ritual, performed at the inauguration of the new head of the bissu (Puang Matoa), one of them leads the new head to the ornament of Segeri, a plow, and at this point he makes an announcement the significance of which the assistant reproduced as follows: "It is neither known of the person who is here brought to the sacred object and who touches it, nor of the object, who is the man and who the woman. If the sacred object is a man, then this person is a woman, and vice versa" (1).

1. The Buginese original of this announcement could not be obtained.

From this it would appear that it is believed that the ornament and the head of the bissu must be of different sex, that the sex of the ornament is unknown, and that, therefore, only a person who can be either man or woman can be the head of the bissu. The general occurrence of this, albeit merely vaguely conscious, belief could explain the attraction
[554] of the kawe kawe to the ornaments. There they found a social recognition which they lacked elsewhere.

838 Dr. Slot, who has examined a number of these bissu for their physical characteristics, reports that their sexual organs were completely normal; there was no question of hermaphroditism. A number of secondary sex characteristics can be called feminine. Among these he reports a hyperextendability of the elbow, little muscular development, and broad hips (2).

589 /160 cont./ same men, therefore, continued to believe in the reaction expected of women when the marriage is announced to them, as the real manifestation of their feelings. In a kelong recited by women, one hears a different tone, 589 however:

539 /161/ Lolobangkomi denangku; — My friend has become an old maid;
djappomi padja bungkenna — her first sarong is already worn-out (1)

1. This refers to a custom by which the first sarong a young girl weaves, after she has just learned to do so, is kept for her bridegroom.

mattajang guru; — in waiting for a man;
mana palukka tania'. — not even a thief was there (2).

2. That is to say, she did not even carry out a marriage by flight.

589 With respect to older unmarried men, it is believed that they could have married but that they did not want to do so. People are satisfied with that; they are not urged to marry. The few older unmarried men who could be observed for some time every day, seemed like quiet, contented individuals who performed all kinds of little tasks in the house, rendered small services to their housemates, and sometimes even looked after the little children. Their standing in the group of relatives [554] is not great. Men who enjoy status in their related group are always married.

589 /161 cont./ In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago," "that the continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
● [554] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual, but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese," the report goes on (4), "who
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4. Ibid., p. 67.

565 have strict difference between the social classes, the number of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses of the wedding feast) are so high." Now this "bride price" among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals or 56. -- guldens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or 40. -- guldens. The difference of 16. -- guldens does not

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a [561] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [55] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl [557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

565 /172 cont./ standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaëng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses?/ are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man
595 who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to
[626] the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/ Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this purpose, /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the [777] manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [554] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a [887] number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," [178] the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the 585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

/183 cont./

585 539

23. Nisailenu kau, tamalladjunu nitjini' ma'mole-mole. — One looks at you, one never gets enough of looking at you.

24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, kukanro ana' karaëng. — I call you a man of the nobility and honor you as a prince.

25. Nutuli manai'mo maë riballa'na matoannu, rituka'na ipara'nu, — Come enter the house of your parents-in-law, along the steps of your brothers-in-law and your sisters-in-law,

26. matoang tuna, ipara' kamasemase; — your lowly parents-in-law and your pitiable brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

27. mangngondjottommakonne tuka' tallu anronna, patampulo baringanna; — go along the ladder with the three uprights and the forty rungs (2);

[554]

2. These and the following references point to the fact that here one is in the house of a very prominent man.

28. mandjapputtongko pole tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu; — hold on tight to the banister of the ladder, which is divided into joints like sugar cane;

29. nutuli manai'; — climb steadily upward;

30. mannjorong pakke'bu nigiring-giring; — push against the door which is provided with little copper bells;

31. mangngondjot tongko dasere' nidjaling kawa', nia'lanro bassi kalling; — step onto the floor boards which are tied to the transverse boards by means of wire;

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither. But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore receives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were, a game in which the young couple compete with each other, but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
[554] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
[522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people openly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven. There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
[824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts. If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her. "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482
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2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

[178] The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the headdress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

● 554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaëng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaëng related group, that only a small number are contracted in that of the adat community heads, and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this purpose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling out the marriage registers know that the administration does not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this girl, a very special figure ahead of his time, had recorded the birth dates of his children in a notebook, and therefore a check was possible in this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

684/209 cont./ 692

punished by the native courts of law. Incest and, a fortiori, the contact situation of a man with a higher woman is not entered as an offense in the Penal Code. As a result, persons guilty of incest cannot, on the whole, be punished through government jurisdiction. In these districts the administration gives them protection in the form of a very brief punishment pronounced by the magistrate's court (elsewhere the district court, old style), coupled with the advice not to return to the kampong. This applies equally to violation of rules concerning contact between a man and a higher woman.

554 582 Prohibition of hypergamy is a well-known phenomenon in many cultures. In South Celebes the sharp reaction to transgression is the only striking thing. An explanation of this circumstance therefore will only be attempted.

554 A Makassarese occupies toward his equals and near equals a position of constant opposition. A fixed vertical articulation has not come about. His female relatives, and primarily his sister, constitute for him the point of departure in his striving to /210/ rise. They are a fixed point for him in this respect.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise. They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they possess.

565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests. Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

An expression of competition between an inferior and a superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
554 a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
565 relationships because these give him emotional security which he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with advantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation between high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two elements that are of essential importance to him in his culture. He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope, and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

554 /210 cont./ latter case, a marriage may still take place.
684 Then there arises a relationship between "the people who feel siri'" and "the fleers," a relationship which opens up the /211/ possibility of circumventing the killing that is also prescribed in this case. Ultimately, though only after years, a reconciliation can come about. This entire complex will be discussed in the following part of this chapter.

Third Part

The Siri' Phenomenon

554 Vertical mobility occurs by means of opposition relation-
571 ships. Men between fifteen and forty years, and especially the younger ones among them, must face each other in a lasting relationship of challenge and outdoing. Each challenge and outdoing demands a reaction. The person who does not react, that is to say, the one who does not participate in what is regarded as important in this culture, has little social standing. The feeling of someone who is outdone is indicated by siri' (1). Someone is siri' when his social standing is

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1. Matthes (Woordenboek, p. 583) translates the word siri' by "ashamed, diffident, shy, shame, sense of honor, disgrace." But to a Makassarese, siri' has an entirely different meaning than these words have for a Dutchman. The meaning fits equally little that of the

554 /211 cont./ Indonesian word malu. An attempt at definition will be made below. For the sake of clarity, however, I have left the term untranslated in a number of cases.
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impaired and when another person knows this.

A man is inclined to regard immediately as outdoing any accidental event at an encounter, or a lucky word on his part, by which he raises himself above the other person, at least in his own eyes. The other, when he hears this, is also siri'.

The reaction may consist of a counterchallenge, a returned insult, by which the original challenger in his turn becomes siri'. It is never possible to determine precisely who "began." The mutual opposition is sometimes explained by an event from the past that is regarded as of great importance, for instance, a murder. But with that the question concerning the origin of the mutual opposition is merely put off.

There exists the possibility that the outdone person will [578] respond by stabbing. The consequence of outdoing can therefore never be foreseen. It remains charged with real danger. Many stabbing brawls in South Celebes are proof of that.

/212/ One of the most spectacular challenges is the theft 554 of cattle, horses, or buffalo. Its purpose is, in the first instance, 571 to show one's courage (kaporeanna); only in a few cases are 685 economic motives at the bottom of this. Sometimes a warning is uttered beforehand: "I am coming" (that is to say, "to [578] steal your buffalo"). Stealing cattle is done to find a reason for a brawl. A successful buffalo theft is considered a triumph and at the same time a challenge. A cattle theft at the expense of the prince is therefore a great insult.

554 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social
571 standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not
177 react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman
558 may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for
689 the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impair-
627 ment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which
[583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
627 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

554 /213 cont./ On this occasion there is always a superior,
588 functionary or someone of higher blood present, because only
627 then does an inferior control his siri' /214/ feelings. It would
684 be a great discourtesy to act according to one's own opinions against the wishes of a superior and on top of that in the superior's presence. In a conflict of impulses to kill or not to kill, the presence of the superior makes not killing acceptable.

A superior, however, cannot without further ado impose his will upon inferiors. More clearly than elsewhere there appear here the limits of power that a superior has over an inferior. Coercion on the part of the superior to bring about a reconciliation has as a consequence not only the fact that no reconciliation is brought about, but it even intensifies existing difficulties. Below, we shall see examples of this.

588 After reconciliation there is no more question of siri';
607 relationships are again normal. But during the entire period,
684 from the moment of the flight to the reconciliation, the relationships between the fleers, tumannjala ("people who have made a mistake"), and the wife's male kinsmen, the tumasiri' ("people who are siri'"), is bound to various rules. In practice there are many generally accepted ways of meeting the difficulties that have arisen through these siri' feelings, which will be described below. One repeatedly comes upon situations, or hears opinions defended by those involved, which are comprehensible only on the basis of ideas concerning challenging and killing. This does not mean that each silariang marriage is intended in the first place as a challenge, but it is regarded as such. Subsequent conduct is in accordance with it.

627 A man who has been made siri' by a violation of sexual
684 prohibitions is therefore expected to kill the one who has transgressed. But it is not a matter of indifference how this killing takes place. By preference, it must be done in a manner worthy of a man, that is to say, by a stab with a knife (badi') in the open.

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602 /216 cont./ drawn. Other kinsmen display "their siri'" by
627 participating in the pursuit that takes place after the flight.
684 But at a later encounter they do not feel so quickly moved to stab.

554 If the fleeing couple reaches the house of a kampong, or
627 higher, head, or that of a religious official, it should be safe
684 there. To stab in the house of a head or a higher person is a
[778] mark of great discourtesy to that person. In the presence of a superior and, a fortiori, in that superior's house, a tumasiri' must control his siri' feelings. In one case where a tumasiri' pursued his sister all the way inside the head's house and killed her there, this served as justification for the judge to
183 increase the punishment (3). In many cases the fact that the
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3. See /H. T. Chabot, "Steekpartijen in Goa /Knifings in Goa/," Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht, / Vol. 149, p. 328.

tumannjala reached the house of a superior in all probability signified a relief for their tumasiri', /217/ because it frees the latter from the necessity to stab. But no Makassarese would simply admit this. The same applies to an encounter on the open road. At such a moment many tumasiri' ignore their tumannjala as completely as possible under the given circumstances.

588 In determining the reasons for silariang it can easily be
684 seen that they are not simply the high bride price, nor the
114 great expenses of the feast, nor certain differences in status, nor even the fact that parents regulate the marriages of their children without taking into account their wishes (1).

588 /231 cont./ Rappung shook hands with those present (a'djama taëng) in the order of rank and status, first the Imam
● [554 who urged him to go to his wife, who remained seated motion-
576] less. He just touched her hand. He then went to the two witnesses, first the oldest, then the Imam's younger brother, and finally to his two kinsmen who had come along.

The Imam opened the round copper box (kampu) in which the sunrang was contained. In it were: two kalomping (betel leaves folded in a special way), two pieces of areca nut, a few grains of rice, and 4.25 guldens. Of this, 0.25 gulden was designated for the Kali of Goa, and 0.25 gulden for each of the witnesses. The rest was for the Imam. And finally there was a small lump of earth symbolizing the sawah transferred as sunrang. The money was taken out of the box and distributed. Thereupon, the couple left, and with them their companions.

[493] Two three-wheeled bicycles with baskets (tallu roda) stood in readiness. Rappung and his wife sat down on the one in front. "They find it pleasant to sit close together" (nangai siampika), those on the second tallu roda shouted, but Djawi turned her back to him /232/ and by this demonstrative aversion showed that she knew how a just-married woman should behave.

Reconciliation

602 The reconciliation can be defined as the solemn arrival
627 of the two tumannjala together with the man's kinsmen and acquaintances at the house of the father or one of the brothers of the wife. There many of her kinsmen are gathered for the occasion. Wife and husband ask for forgiveness from all those present and offer the sunrang, the fine, and cookies.

622 The kampong head, or a higher functionary, is always
627 present on such an occasion. He is the one under whose authority the reconciliation comes about. In his presence the

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155 /240 cont./ 1. For the ideas followed here, see A. Kardiner, The Individual and His Society, fourth edition, New York, 1947, pp. 21 ff.

554 Among the men of between fifteen and thirty-five years of age, one finds constant striving to outdo another.

571 Each contemporary of the same or of almost the same 578 descent is a potential opponent for them in their striving to rise. However, a two-fold brake affects the realization of this striving.

In the first place, the social forms with respect to members of the same /nuclear/ family toward a higher and toward an older person are highly formalized. As soon as the restraints here applied are removed, a strong aggression finds expression. Men who drink at a feast avoid the higher people who are present there. When the young adat community head came to my house one evening drunk, he spoke in an angry tone about nothing but the failings of his father and the obstacles that the latter was always putting in his way.

The stiff relationship to the older male housemates brings with it the fact that the young men prefer to wander around outside.

521 In the second place, there are restrictions with regard 554 to the /241/ institutions in which the striving to outdo another 576 finds expression. Boasting about the splendor of a festival in one's group of relatives is done as a matter of course, but a man may not brag about his possessions, his sawahs, cattle, [685] and valuables. He must be modestly silent about them. The theft of cattle is a frequent phenomenon; it is a form of outdoing another. But the theft of other goods practically does not occur. If it does, it is regarded as a despicable deed.

554 Each act of outdoing, large or small, imagined or real, 571 has as a consequence that the other feels his social standing

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
689 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[563] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[762] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

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During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first co mmon bath. Page 265. (Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

noticeable in the Kepala kampong's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim. M 156 609

I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampong had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampong's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better. M 565 342 554

At the Karaëng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa". I 192

I asked Rahim about the Karaëng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i.e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaëng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes. M 156 554

I went back to the Karaëng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaëng as well as to the Kepala kampong. Rahim said that the Karaëng was ana tino [i.e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i.e., the nine electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought. M 124 565

The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him. M 124

Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were M 541 533 177

this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

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old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

565 The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
567 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friederic y. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

M 565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

M 565 554 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong M 621 624 625 there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampong wears one. However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it. In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles. Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ika tuan, as I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone. (This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Makassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was formerly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when approaching their superiors or when passing them. They squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with them. They wait until they are asked a question. And every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the Kepala kampong meets me or says goodbye he holds our right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very best place. The Kapala kampong and other common guests sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked the Kepala kampong who was waiting in the car to come onto the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. 153
He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is neces- 857
sary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the 565
boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, 831
who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. 876
The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The
lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is pro-
bably because most of the school girls are uppers and there-
fore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them.
This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems
that only upper girls go to his school, although there are
many lower boys.

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price 583
--Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." 565
Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, 435
and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones
may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw
a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man 291
wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten 177
paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wear- 554●
ing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris
stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture:
suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office
work, etc.

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The 546
information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a 208
big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant
Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him,
did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all
meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes
and more understandable material in attacking such pro-
blems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the
United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice.

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six 535
days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the 517
pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form 525
of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of 368
playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wager-
ing. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The
whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese
themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I
saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam.

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He 586
asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the 153
tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after mar- 163
riages are arranged the couple often separate after a very
short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too
a man often refuses to give the surat talak
(divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry.

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

2: Wilken--266 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau 0010
Makassar 0G6
Toradja 0G11
Gorontolo 0G4

[223 cont.]

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a. Haircutting (1)

1. For more detailed information see G.A.Wilken, "Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiëns," Revue Col. Internationale, Vol. IV, pp. 391 f.

Mn I 852 302

A no less important ceremony, one that once even had religious significance, is the first haircut of the young child, which takes place with more or less ceremony among practically all peoples, the pagans as well as the Mohammedans. We point first to the Minangkabau Malays, who call this operation mĕmangkegombaq, the cutting of the gombaq, the locks of hair. These Malays have the custom of shearing the heads of their children completely bare, except for two tufts that remain, sometimes combed and sometimes plaited and decorated with quarters [coins] [224] or amulets. These locks are cut off during the mĕmangkegombaq, which is accompanied by festivities lasting several days, and afterwards the locks are wrapped in yellow cotton and taken to the father's house. A similar ceremony takes place in Lebong and in the Palembang Highlands.

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Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the hair of a child is cut ceremoniously when it reaches the age of one, two, or more years, and if the child is a prince, this is done with thrice seven shears. If the child is lower in rank, but of royal blood, then only twice seven shears are required, and for children of lesser rank the number of shears is proportionately reduced; for the lowest class one pair of shears is enough for the operation.

Tr G 852 302

This custom is likewise found among the pagan tribes of the central part of Celebes, as well as among the inhabitants of Bolaäng Mongondou. The latter preserve the hair in a coconut shell, as is also done by the Gorontalese. They hang the shell in front of the house above the steps, where it remains until it falls down of its own accord.

B [416 cont.]

565 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided
554 into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djadji—
551 the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do. [417] The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely related to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when assuming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows: Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grandson pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

MK
565 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility
643 is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members
[562] of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese, and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes
MK and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succes-
[554] sion are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

[417 cont.]

565 643 554 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 293 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

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643 778 669 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments. For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an attempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

7:Alisjahbana E-3 (1952-1953)1954 OBl Indonesia OB1
(ca. 1900) Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

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consisted of many objects, such as kris (creeses), banners, spears, shields. A group of golden ornaments, called the upatjara, were carried in a procession at the celebration of Garebeg. (See above.) These regalia were collectively called pusaka. Almost each item had a specific function, such as to avert epidemics, droughts, etc.[3]

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The regalia of the Buginese and the Makassarese, called the gaukang were believed to have similar characteristics. Here it was a general belief that the regalia was the basis of the ruler's power. Without these regalia, a Makassarese or Buginese ruler would not be able to come to power.[4]

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The regents, the highest nobility in the Prijangan, also possessed regalia. Ordinarily it consisted of kris, betelnut-sets, statues, shields, umbrellas, etc. and it was hereditary within the family. These hereditary ornaments were called pusaka too; a special room was customarily kept apart for them. Although these pusaka were treated with reverent care, the Makassarese and Buginese concept of the regalia's power did not exist.

Dutch sources pointed out that during the early contacts with the native chiefs, the pusakas were displaced on almost all occasions. In some areas they were also carried in a procession with the aim of blessing the tjatjah. In some areas the water with which the pusaka was cleaned was believed to possess curing power.

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3. J. P. Duyvendak, Inleiding tot de Ethnologie van de Indonesische Archipel. (Groningen/Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1946).

4. H. J. Friederich, "De Standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch India, vol. 90 (1933), pp. 498-502.